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The Editors
JOHN PAUL, S.J.?

ONE DOLLAR

DECEMBER 18, 1981

PEACE

THE BISHOPS & THE BOMBS

NO REST FOR THE REFUGEES

MADONNA OF THE STREETS

NEGOTIATIONS IN SALVADOR

MORALITY & WORLD POLITICS

Also: Eric Foner on the state of history
Margaret O'Brien Steinfels on Betty Friedan
Colin L. Westerbe t'

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Correspondence

Deterrent & doctrine

Hollis, N.Y.

To the Editors: . . . Father Hehir writes in his column, "The relationship between a *threat* to use the deterrent, the *intention* to use it and the *consequences* of whether a credible threat really may prevent its use is not explored in the official Catholic teaching" [Sept. 25]. Does he wish therefore social doctrine to take on the task of determining the ultimate social value of the nuclear deterrent?

Obviously its ultimate value is destructive. Whether it is used in 1984 or 1990 or 2000 or whenever, the deterrent becomes neither an instrument of justice nor self-preservation but an agent of incalculable horror. As another *Commonweal* columnist has written, we have to be willing to repudiate its use by abolishing it.

Exploring the threat-intention-consequences issue is the intellectual equivalent of the dog chasing its tail, an intriguing sight under certain circumstances, but definitely not when it becomes a matter of trying to preserve global peace and human dignity.

ROLAND LAIRD

Feeling the draft

Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editors: As a person who has long shared Gordon Zahn's general commitment to Christian pacifism and opposition to the draft, I wish to second his recommendations for opposing a return to the peacetime draft, [Sept. 25]. In my view the proponents of the draft see it not only as a source of cheap labor but as a psychological mechanism for furthering a mental climate that is rapidly convincing the majority of American people of the inevitability of war with Russia within the next decade.

The self-fulfilling prophecy is in full bloom. The "window of vulnerability" must be closed, we are told, notwithstanding two major premises all rational Americans should be aware of by now. Premise 1: Russia can wipe us off the earth ten times over. Premise 2: The U.S. can wipe Russia off the earth at least ten times over. Apparently, there is a hidden assumption somewhere in the environs of Washington which holds that we can spend them to death on military appropriations so that economic failure not only grips Russia but worldwide Communism collapses as the source of this disease is eradicated.

Of course Zahn is right on the need to oppose a return to the draft. I suppose I'm only offering a postscript that sees the need to move on many fronts simultaneously. The draft chiefly concerns the young, and we are a society where the median age is now over thirty. A much broader base of opposition to current policies is available. When hard hats will march to Washington there is still hope. If Reagan is successful in gutting forty years of social legislation, members of the peace movement should ally themselves with a wide variety of opposition groups in the pursuit of sanity and justice. Assuming of course that there is still time.

RICHARD C. LEONARD

Dubious elections

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: "Oligarchs, Old and New" [Editorial, Oct. 9] reflected a clear understanding of the root causes behind the events now occurring in Central America. Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte's continued inability to control his own armed forces or their right-wing allies is the best indication of where power really lies in that country today.

On October 9, Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, the notorious leader of the ultra-conservative Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) registered to participate in the presidential elections scheduled for March 1982. Yet a warrant for D'Aubuisson's arrest for his part in a March 1980 coup attempt is still pending. Former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White has presented evidence that links D'Aubuisson with the March 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, and others have tied the controversial major with the December 1980 murders of the four American religious women and the recent machine gun attacks on the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador. Apparently the Duarte government is so impotent that it cannot even order the arrest of a man whose whereabouts are now publicly known (D'Aubuisson was required to supply his address when he declared his candidacy).

While in Washington in September Duarte wooed the U.S. public with promises of free and safe elections but also announced the exclusion of the left from the electoral process as long as they remain armed. It is widely known that D'Aubuisson heads an active clandestine para-military force responsible for hundreds of deaths.

In view of the D'Aubuisson affair, is it surprising that only the Reagan administration is willing to accept these dubious elections as the final political solution in El Salvador?

SUSAN DRIGGS
Research Associate
Council on Hemispheric Affairs

The P-2 paradox

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Eric Terzuolo's informative essay on the P-2 scandal [Sept. 11] points out the paradoxical stability of Italy's crisis-ridden democracy. P-2 is but the latest (albeit apparently the biggest) of a series of scandals which have repeatedly rocked Italian democracy since the 1950s. Following hard on the heels of the Red Brigades nearly decade-long and unsuccessful frontal assault on Italian

(Continued on page 730)

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THE BISHOPS AS PEACEMAKERS

MORE THAN ONE out of every four Americans is a Catholic. That the religious leaders of such a segment of the population should even contemplate condemning a central premise of America's defense policy is a religious and political development of momentous consequence. Yet that is exactly what is in process today.

In the last year over forty American bishops have been party to statements in one way or another soundly critical of U.S. nuclear policy. Some have spoken out repeatedly. Last March, seventeen bishops, members of Pax Christi, addressed a letter to Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, chairman of a committee established by the U.S. bishops to examine war-peace issues. The Pax Christi bishops asked whether any morally justifiable warfare was possible in view of modern weaponry. In June, Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle issued a *cri de coeur* against nuclear arms; endorsed unilateral disarmament as "one obvious meaning of the cross" and "a moral imperative for followers of Christ"; and further recommended refusal to pay taxes intended for military budgets. In August, John Roach, Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis and chairman of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, repeated the Conference's previous criticism of the neutron warhead as another breach in the "political, psychological, and strategic barriers to the use of nuclear weapons." Also in August, Bishop Anthony Pilla of Cleveland released a pastoral study document in which he stated: "Our moral obligation as Christians and Catholics is to support and defend all human life. The presence of nuclear weapons and the readiness of those in power to use them contradict that obligation." Pilla listed a number of practical ways in which his diocese might oppose "modern war and weaponry as we oppose abortion, racism, and poverty." And in August, too, Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, condemned the reliance on nuclear weapons, many of which are finally assembled within his diocese; he counseled Catholics to disengage themselves from such work. Bishop Matthiesen was later supported by twelve other Texas bishops. In October, Archbishop John Quinn of San Francisco marked the eight-hundredth anniversary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi with a statement emphasizing, "The teaching of the church is clear: Nuclear weapons and the arms race must be condemned as immoral." Like Bishops Hunthausen and Pilla, he recommended support of the campaign for a "nuclear arms freeze." And finally in November, Archbishop Roach, in his presidential address at the annual bishops' meeting, declared that "on a global scale, the most dangerous moral issue in the public order today is the nuclear arms race. . . . The church needs to say 'no' clearly and decisively to the use of nuclear weapons. . . . It is not useful to blur the line of moral argument about the use of nuclear weapons at a time when the secular debate is openly discussing the use of limited nuclear weapons and winning nuclear wars." These are only some of the more notable episcopal pronouncements.

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Only recently has the larger world begun to take notice of this astonishing trend. And one immediate reaction has been bafflement. Why this sudden upsurge in anti-nuclear sentiment? The fact is that a collision between Catholic moral teaching and U.S. nuclear policy has been foreseeable for some time. It has been a possibility ever since the Vatican Council pronounced an "unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation" of "any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population." It has been a probability ever since the end of last year when not only was SALT II rejected but the Reagan administration began installing in office many of the treaty's most devoted foes and began giving a warm hearing to theories of "fighting" and "winning" nuclear wars.

Last January, in fact, *Commonweal* observed that just as the Supreme Court's 1973 abortion decision had sparked the right-to-life movement into existence, the administration's attitude toward nuclear strategy was likely to provoke "a similarly militant although differently focused right-to-life movement." It's happening.

Not even many Catholics are aware—though many are currently finding out—how precarious the moral justification of the nuclear deterrent has been. The Council raised the problem but reached no clear conclusion. Yet even by traditional moral reasoning, if the actual use of strategic weapons of mass destruction was forbidden, how could one justify a present readiness to carry out such an act, even in the hope that the threat might forestall the actuality? The reluctant answer was that nuclear deterrence could be tolerated only if it were meant to buy time for successful disarmament. It had to be a temporary resort, designed to be self-eliminating, not self-perpetuating. This, we believe, was the burden of Cardinal Krol's 1979 testimony on SALT.

If the possession and readiness to use nuclear arms could win no more than tenuous support from a moderate conservative like Cardinal Krol, doubts about the deterrent were reinforced by the new legitimacy of Catholic pacifism. In theory, the doctrine of the "just," i.e., justifiable, war had always contained a strong presumption against the use of violence. But practice often lagged far behind theory, and it has been the effect of various kinds of Catholic pacifism to exert pressure on just-war adherents to live up to their beliefs, in this instance to stop giving the deterrent an indefinite number of "second chances" despite the breakdown of almost all serious efforts at disarmament.

If the sources of the bishops' new anti-nuclear militancy are clear, the same cannot be said of its eventual direction or ultimate impact. Already the bishops are being subjected to rather predictable criticism: that they are uninformed, naive, or sentimental about the realities of international politics; that they should stick to high-minded statements of principle and leave the crucial military details to the experts. There is little evidence that these critics are at all interested in listening to what the bishops are saying. The numerous statements that we've read vary widely in tone and precision of thought. Some bishops call for unilateral disarmament, others like Archbishop Quinn specify bilateral disarmament; some statements are personal, others are analytical. Taken separately, they are open to challenge on specific points. Taken as a whole, they constitute a massive vote of no-confidence in the leaders currently determining nuclear policy and a compelling refusal of silent acquiescence.

Obviously, many difficult decisions lie ahead for the bishops. Catholics who believe that the just-war theory provides better guidance for the preservation of peace, the establishment of justice, and the protection of human dignity than does pacifism—which is the case with this journal—have nonetheless welcomed Catholic pacifists as allies against a widespread and dangerous *realpolitik*. Will the issue of deterrence force a sharp division between these approaches? A similar division may arise over unilateralism versus bilaterialism. Proponents of bilateral disarmament are currently embarrassed by the absence of progress to date; they remain convinced, however, that not only is bilateral disarmament alone politically viable, it is also the only approach that promises to reach the goal of disarmament without passing through an intermediate stage where the risks of nuclear war would actually be vastly increased as the disparity in military power either tempted or panicked one or the other superpower. In the short-run, to turn J.M. Keynes around, we may all be dead.

The bishops will also have to face the question of the Soviet Union much more directly. So far, most of the statements have limited themselves to phrases about America's "national security." But the Soviet Union has two characteristics that cannot be evaded in any discussion of American defense postures. As a totalitarian society, it has been matched only by Hitler's Germany in this century as a source of human degradation. As a closed society, it is relatively immune from the pressures of public opinion or religious conscience that may act as restraints in the West. To point out these crucial asymmetries between East and West is not to deny any basis for reversing the rising tide of nuclear arms. It is simply to acknowledge the truth, and to announce whatever one's moral conclusions in the full light of that truth. It may also encourage the American episcopacy to seek means, as part of a universal church, for applying some parallel pressures on Moscow.

Archbishop Bernardin's committee, which includes both Bishop Gumbleton, a long time Pax Christi leader, and Bishop O'Connor of the military ordinariate, has its work cut out. Consolidating this unprecedented movement in the American church will require an extraordinary mix of care and courage. Blessed are the peacemakers.

FROM THE FILE

Like most people whose work includes writing editorials, we squirrel away clippings of news items that seem worthy of comment. Herewith remarks on two such clippings selected more or less at random from the file on What's Up with the Reagan Team.

The first item is another in the recurring series on Reagan appointments of foxes to guard the chicken coops. This in-

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volves the naming of James C. Miller 3d as the new chairman of the watchdog Federal Trade Commission. Said Mr. Miller (we know; you've guessed it already if you did not read it in the first place): the Federal Trade Commission should no longer protect consumers from defective products and unsubstantiated advertising claims. Previous efforts to improve product quality have been ill-advised, he said, and in a wonderful sentence he went on to explain that "imperfect products" should be available on the market because consumers have "different preferences for product avoidance." As for the old rule that companies must be able to substantiate claims made in advertising, we will have no more of that nonsense either if Mr. Miller has his way. Not surprisingly, given his emasculation proposals, Mr. Reagan's new FTC chairman said the commission could easily sustain the administration's planned 12 percent cut in its budget and that it could "function well" even if an additional 18 percent were cut.

Well, we suppose it will not be the end of the world if you discover that your new toaster does not toast or that your new color TV set suffers from incurably defective innards, despite the advertising claims of the manufacturer. After all, we all have "different preferences for product avoidance," as Mr. Miller put it. But the second item drawn from our file involves more drastic and more human consequences. This one is a story from the *Washington Post* detailing the impact in Virginia of the Reagan budget cuts as they affect just one area, Medicaid. Officials in Virginia are moving to bar nearly 50,000 indigent patients from the Medicaid rolls and to slash medical benefits to an additional 12,000 children. What this adds up to, in part: at least 800 elderly and bed-ridden patients would be forced to leave their nursing homes; more than 35,000 aged, blind, and disabled people just above the poverty line would lose all their medical benefits; 12,000 children from low-income families would no longer receive free hospital care, eyeglasses, or other key medical services. An example of those who would lose their Medicaid benefits: a man named John Buckley, 58 years old, who has diabetes, is blind in one eye, and both of whose legs have been amputated. Mr. Buckley gets $402 a month from Social Security, but $211 of that goes for his senior citizen apartment. Nonetheless, his $402 a month makes him ineligible for welfare, and the state therefore has the option of eliminating his Medicaid benefits. What will he do now?

Virginia officials are not unusually heartless; they are simply trying to cope with the fiscal realities imposed by what New York's Governor Carey recently termed "deny-side" economics. The same pattern of deprivation and suffering will inevitably follow in state after state as the social blight of the Reagan budget spreads; soon there will be thousands of men and women in the same boat as Virginia's John Buckley. As this is going on, there are still people in this country who say that all politicians are the same and that it makes no difference whether you vote or for whom you vote.

In keeping with its usual holiday practice, *Commonweal* will not publish an issue during the Christmas-New Year's season. The next issue will be dated January 15, 1982.

JOHN PAUL, S.J.?

Pope John Paul II owes the Jesuits an explanation. In early October he broke the time-honored tradition whereby "exempt" religious orders enjoy relative autonomy from episcopal control in running their own affairs. Traditionally, such freedom has been the way the Roman church acknowledges and incorporates the potentially sectarian creativity of zealous reformers like Dominic, Francis, Teresa of Avila, and Ignatius of Loyola. Further, for a church that in recent centuries often appeared to have all the variety and flexibility of a stony Egyptian pyramid, the autonomy of religious orders has represented a significant legitimation of pluralism and the principle of subsidiarity. To see such independence tampered with, even temporarily, is troubling. Coming at this time, moreover, the suspicion cast on the order by the pope's act imperils the lives of many Latin American and Asian Jesuits whose survival odds were already slim.

What's going on?

When in April of 1980, Jesuit superior general Father Pedro Arrupe announced his intention to resign "for reasons of advancing age" (he was 72), that automatically set in motion procedures for assembling a body that not only elects new superior generals, but perhaps more important in this context, also sets overall policy for the order—a kind of intra-Jesuit ecumenical council. Without explaining why, the pope did not like the timing; a congregation was "inopportune"—and he insisted the process be halted, and Arrupe stay on "for the time being." Arrupe complied. Further conversation was difficult; the traveling pope was nearly inaccessible—and then events intervened: the assassination attempt and, last summer, Arrupe's stroke, which left him partly paralyzed and barely able to speak. Fr. Vincent O'Keefe, Arrupe's chosen vicar and an American, continued to be in regular contact with Cardinal Augostino Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State. Just prior to the bolt of October 6 which replaced him, O'Keefe had written Casaroli that the process of electing a permanent successor for Arrupe could not be delayed indefinitely. The pope's response was to step in, as no pope before him has done since the Jesuit suppression of 1773, with his own "personal delegate," Father Paolo Dezza, S.J., who will run the order in the pope's name until the indeterminate time when a new superior general is elected.

Jesuits took some comfort in the fact that their new overseer was one of their own rather than a Vatican curial official, and also in the added appointment of Father Giuseppe Pittau, S.J., to assist Dezza, who at 80 is known as no enthusiast for the order's reorientation to social justice. Pittau, a Harvard Ph.D. in political science and till lately provincial of Japan, is highly regarded, a man supposedly of Arrupe's stamp. Things could have been worse.

But stung by the icy manner in which Casaroli had delivered the peremptory order to the stricken and much revered Arrupe,

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and uncertain whether the act didn't effectively dissolve the Jesuit Constitution, Jesuit provincial superiors from around the world collectively protested. Dezza sent reassurances: Jesuit constitutional procedures for transferring authority were not abrogated; the change at the top and the delay in proceeding was "for the sake of better preparation as required by the Holy Father." Perhaps suspicions should be held in check; it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the charismatic Karol Wojtyla may indeed have a visionary mission for Jesuits well worth the rest of us hearing. Presumably, the world's Jesuit provincials have been summoned to Rome at the end of February to hear it.

But frankly, visionary calls are only part of the problem here. American Jesuit provincials at first reacted to the pope's takeover, we're told, with feelings of "helplessness." Even for intimates of the clerical elite like Jesuits, there's nothing on the books but the spirit of the Gospel to restrain the pope from arbitrary action, nor any legal redress should it occur — and men specially vowed to the pope felt the defect here too close for comfort. So far this issue, left over from Vatican I, has been too hot to handle. The time to handle it may be approaching.

Canon Law Societies

WORKING FROM WITHIN

CANONS LEFT & RIGHT

OVER SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY canon lawyers met recently in Chicago for a unique gathering for North America. The occasion was the first time the conventions of the Canon Law Society of America and the Canadian Canon Law Society had been held together.

The international character of the meeting was news itself. Delegates participated from the canon law societies of Great Britain and Ireland, and of Australia and New Zealand. Simultaneous translation between English and French was available for all major presentations. For the first time, many United States canon lawyers were able to meet, exchange views, and discover how much they hold in common with counterparts from around the world.

Although the majority of participants were from the United States, several special elements were noticeable among the overseas visitors. More women seem to be professional canon lawyers in Canada proportionate to the general canon law society membership there, than is true in the United States. As in this country, the great majority of canon lawyers elsewhere are priests, and are engaged in the "practice" of the law in church courts. Most of the participants from all countries attending expressed concern over the practical difficulties of meeting the needs of divorced and remarried Catholics, and viewed with some apprehension rumblings from Rome about the number of cases being done outside the Eternal City.

An overriding concern at the meeting was the proposed new Code of Canon Law. In preparation at least since Vatican II, the revision is in its final stages. The Commission in charge of the revision had scheduled its final meeting in Rome a week following the Chicago session. Several members of the Code Commission as well as some of the advisors who were going to the Roman meeting were among the Chicago participants.

For most canon lawyers the new Code poses three issues. The most commonly discussed are the technical details which will call for administrative changes in some church practices once the new law goes into effect. The second and more long-range issue is the educational process it will take to implement the new Code. This concern was clearly evident in resolutions adopted by the U.S. canon lawyers, calling for more effective seminary education in canon law and committing their society to an educational priority. While there is not that much which is "news" in the proposed revision compared to existing church law, the problem is that even what is law today is poorly understood in the church at large.

A third issue for canon lawyers is the attitude toward law in the church. This is perhaps the most fundamental concern, and one on which representatives of the four societies were most in agreement. A special session of the leaders from the canon law societies present agreed the key challenge in the years ahead is to develop in the church a sound understanding of what the role of law should be in Christian life.

Two major speeches at the Chicago meeting looked at different aspects of these canon lawyer issues. They illustrate, perhaps, the schizophrenia afflicting church lawyers today—splitting between critiquing what is unsatisfactory in the proposed revision of the law, but turning practically toward what can be done with it once it is promulgated.

Father Francis Morrisey opened the Chicago meeting with a practical concern, the implementation of the revised Code. Dean of the Canon Law faculty at Saint Paul's University in Ottawa, this Oblate priest is one of the most respected North American canonists today. He called for a slow and carefully paced implementation of the revised Code through local legislation. Although church tradition—and the new law book itself—provide for councils to make these laws, he felt the practical efficiency of working through bishops' conferences may be more effective. Councils are mixed groups of clergy, religious, and lay persons at which the bishops must listen to a broad debate. They take more time, and at the national level may be too difficult (and expensive) to organize. Yet admitting that bishops' conferences may be more efficient, some at the Chicago meeting hoped the new law would be implemented by involving participation of a broader cross-section of the People of God than just the hierarchy.

A sharp critique of the theological underpinnings for the new Code closed the meetings, bringing to the surface once again the apprehensions canon lawyers have voiced over the past decade at what is being developed in Rome. Theologian Richard McBrien of the University of Notre Dame was the voice this time, but he drew on past observations of canon

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lawyers as well as his own extensive theological perspective. Acknowledging the improvements the current drafts for the revised Code show when compared to the 1917 Code of Canon Law, he still found it lacking in fidelity to the spirit and, in some ways, the major emphasis of Vatican II. Law is supposed to be an expression of theology and an instrument for mission; the proposed revision expresses an inadequate theology, and could well be more an obstacle to mission than an instrument supporting it.

All was not theory and abstract discussion, however. Capitalizing on the presence of the different societies and keeping in mind the fact that most of their members work in marriage tribunals, a special seminar explored typical ways four canon lawyers from around the world would tackle a particular marriage case. A set of facts for the case was circulated in advance to four judges selected by the respective societies. Their proposed decisions together with an analysis each did of the four sentences sparked a lively discussion. What is the appropriate role of psychology in church courts? How would the Rota approach this kind of case? Differing answers to these questions produced different solutions for the case at hand.

Also on hand was an American judge on the Rota, Monsignor Edward Egan. His formal and informal presentation to the meeting made it quite clear he speaks for a point of view not that of many of the canon lawyers present. There are different viewpoints within the church's supreme court, the Rota, and it became clear these may explain the differences between certain Vatican officials and many tribunals outside Italy. The important realization many expressed after the discussions is that both viewpoints are rooted in church precedents.

In many ways the mood of the gathering was calmer than a typical canon law meeting might have been ten years ago. Perhaps the international character of the sessions put everyone on their "good behavior." It may also have been due to a growing concern over the work to be done to implement the new Code, and what it will take to achieve a more wholesome sense of the role of law in the church.

Whatever the reasons, "hot" topics were generally ignored or dealt with in corridors rather than the resolutions sessions. McBrien challenged the canon lawyers to face up to current issues as courageously as they addressed in the past such topics as due process, marriage norms, and the selection of bishops. But his words came too late to affect the business of the meeting, despite informal concern over the recently announced Vatican review of U.S. seminaries or the continuing canonical problems in the petitions of Episcopal priests to become Roman Catholic priests.

Instead, the U.S. canon lawyers approved a proposal to help tribunals equip themselves with computers and other modern office equipment. In calling for greater attention to their own responsibilities to educate one another and the church at large, they began a reexamination of the priorities and projects of the Canon Law Society of America. They turned down a proposal to express their support for the Equal Rights Amendment—a position adopted two years ago—in a letter to appropriate state officials in Illinois, a state which has not endorsed the amendment.

Does all this represent a cooling from the heady days of the late sixties and seventies? Perhaps. But it may also represent another tack, one not unusual for the canon lawyers individually. Rather than confronting the church institution head-on, they normally work through the system. While not unconcerned for immediate issues, they are looking more to the long-range possibilities of affecting the system in terms of justice and Gospel values.

The new generation of canon lawyers who are joining the ranks of the various societies represented in Chicago are competent, committed, and already over-worked. They are not likely to join picket lines. But they are quite willing to work from within to seize the opportunity a new Code will present for upgrading the understanding of law in the church, and avoiding the pitfalls of a renewed legalism in the post-conciliar era.

JAMES H. PROVOST

(Father James H. Provost is the Executive-Coordinator of the Canon Law Society of America and assistant professor of canon law at the Catholic University of America.)

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

TO SEE THE DAY!

THE BISHOPS & NUCLEAR WAR

I KEEP THINKING these days of the time Dorothy Day came to breakfast and the baby-sitter quit. Dorothy and Ammon Hennacy and others from the Catholic Worker house in New York were in Washington for the funeral of Alice Roosevelt Longworth's daughter, Paulina Sturm, who had lived with them for a time. I invited the Worker group home for coffee after Mass.

That was, I suppose, twenty-odd years ago. We were still in the cold war era—very much so— and Dorothy was just out of jail. She and others had been arrested for refusing to take part in a Civil Defense alert—specifically for refusing to take cover in a simulation of defense against nuclear attack. (At least, that is how I remember it.) The Worker position was that the horror of such weapons made the whole idea of "just war" absurd and that to participate in any kind of preparation for it was wrong. They practiced civil disobedience by seeking an open and public place and staying as visible as possible when dutiful citizens took to shelter at the sound of the sirens.

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They were arrested, as they expected to be.

That morning Dorothy recounted the details of her arrest and stay in prison in her matter-of-fact way. She dwelt on the crowded conditions in the women's prison and the inhumane way in which prisoners were subjected to indignities like body search. Our babysitter, a pleasant middle-aged woman who had just come to "live in," listened, evidently in horrified silence. Once Dorothy and the others had gone, she gave notice. She did not intend to stay in a house where people who went to jail were welcome guests, especially those who went to jail for such unpatriotic reasons. "And to think they call themselves Catholic!" she concluded witheringly, "I'm sure I never heard of Catholics like that." And she probably hadn't.

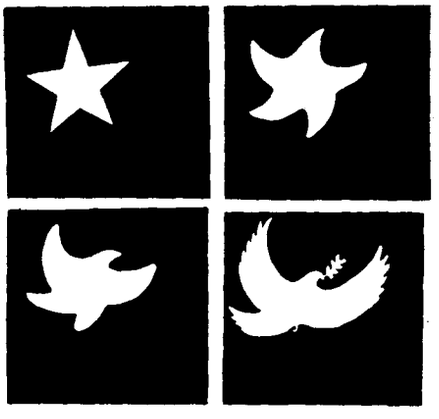
At the time there probably wasn't a single bishop in the United States and very few members of the clergy who approved the stand against nuclear weapons taken by the editors of the *Catholic Worker*. Catholics were much better known for flocking to the colors, for their "fighting padres," and for the visits to the troops of our most prominent cardinal, the military vicar. During World War II and the Korean war there was no church support for those Catholics who registered as conscientious objectors. Catholic students who talked of taking that stand were asked to leave some Catholic colleges. It wasn't until the Vietnam war that a few conscientious objectors were allowed to base their stand on the peace tradition within the church. (Wherever I spoke during that war there were always priests and nuns who did not think that possible and who had never heard of Pope Paul VI's passionate plea of the time—"No more war; never war again!")

It is no wonder then that a prominent Catholic scientist called me to express excited and delighted amazement at the Reverend Vincent A. Yzermans's article in the *New York Times* on the eve of the recent meeting of the American bishops. "Something is stirring in the Roman Catholic church in the United States that portends an explosion between church and state that will make the abortion issue, the school-aid controversy, and the tax-exempt status of churches look like a child's sparkler on the Fourth of July," wrote Msgr. Yzermans. He went on to say that the church in the United States is becoming a peace church and that the revolution in thinking this entails "is being waged painfully in the hearts and minds of Catholic thinkers and leaders." He expressed gratitude that American bishops were taking responsibility for this revolution "at times to the chagrin and vocal opposition of their flocks."

It is also no wonder that at the bishops' meeting sharp debate broke out in response to Archbishop Bernardin's progress report on the work of the hierarchy's year-old-committee on war and peace. The changing stance of the bishops has been swift, almost sudden. It is not only the flock but some of the shepherds who are expressing chagrin and opposition.

Perhaps Archbishop Hannan of New Orleans spoke for many of his brothers when he criticized the report in the ringing rhetoric of the past. It failed to address "the basic question," he is reported as saying, "the question of freedom under God and the dignity of man and human rights"—all things nations have the responsibility to go to war to protect. He defended nuclear deterrents—Europe wants them and deterrents have worked in the past. (He cited poison gas as an example.) "To me," he went on, according to the report in the *Washington Post*, "it's still good theology that we have in the Declaration of Independence, that the Creator did mean us to have life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Not only most lay Catholics but also Archbishop Hannan and presumably other bishops seem unaware that Cardinal Krol spoke for the majority of American bishops when he testified before a Senate committee as long ago as 1979 and held, among other things, that the use of strategic nuclear weapons *even in response* to prior use by the enemy is morally indefensible and that the church requires of its members *unilateral renunciation* of the right to use, or the threat to use, strategic nuclear weapons.



The practical responses to these principles have been suggested by various of the bishops who have been speaking out. Bishop Matthiesen of Amarillo called on the workers in a local armament plant to seek other work and eleven other bishops joined him. Bishop Hunthausen of Seattle asked his people to consider refusing to pay half their income taxes as a protest. Arthur Jones, *National Catholic Reporter* correspondent, put satirical words in the mouth of a mythical interviewer, "You mean Catholic bishops . . . are urging insecurity and anxiety on others without first preparing the way to sustenance? These are *families* you Catholics are dealing with." And columnist Colman McCarthy, man of peace though he is, was moved to ask Archbishop Hunthausen if he himself will join the tax resistance movement, and reported the archbishop as "edgy" about it, and saying that he would do "hard thinking" before April 15th. The peace position, Dorothy Day wrote long ago, is bound, sooner or later, to force people to make decisions *personally* and to *act upon them*. Even bishops. And, like Dorothy, they might go to jail with the members of their flock. Or go homeless and abandoned with them.

When all that is said, however, we must welcome the growing peace leadership from the bishops. There is a story—and it is only a story—that during World War I Benedict XV, called the Pope of Peace, appeared, a solitary white figure, between the lines calling out to both sides. And soldiers burst forth from the trenches answering him, and singing Christmas hymns. The story bespeaks the long yearning felt by people who have suffered the anguish of modern war—the yearning to be led in the ways of peace.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

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Church/worldwatch

Moral choice & world politics

J. Bryan Hehir

THE TOPIC of morality and foreign policy has a long but uneven history in American intellectual and political life. In the 1960s Dean Acheson pronounced himself on the theme by distinguishing between "real problems" and "moral problems" in the conduct of foreign policy. In the 1970s many of the "real problems," from hunger to human rights to nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, seemed so weighted with moral issues that Acheson's dictum lost respectability and relevance. A decade of debate about these issues, however, has not provided a satisfactory method of relating the moral and the empirical coherently and credibly.

Professor Stanley Hoffman of Harvard confronts this task in *Duties Beyond Borders: On the Limits and Possibilities of Ethical International Politics* (Syracuse University Press, $18, $9.95 paper, 252 pp.). It is a demanding book, but worth the effort. The challenge is following him below the surface of the daily debate to a depth not often present in most considerations of this theme. Depth of analysis should not be confused with definite answers. Hoffman stresses modesty throughout the book. Characteristically he poses more questions than he proffers answers. Between opening and closing chapters which examine the essential elements of his topic, he dissects three specific cases: war, human rights, and global injustice. these questions are much on the mind of analysts and actors in the foreign policy debate.

Hoffman's book will discipline the debate. It offers diverse benefits to different participants. He has written incisively and extensively on the political and strategic dimensions of the international system and U.S. policy. An impressive corpus lies between his first book, *The State of War,* and his most recent policy proposals in *Primacy and World Order;* in addition to monographs, he has contributed scores of articles which have shaped the policy argument in the United States and Europe. The normative dimension of foreign policy has been a continuing theme in his teaching and writing, but *Duties Beyond Borders* is his most detailed address to the topic.

Hoffman's concern is to show the way toward reconciling "what is usually referred to as the realistic approach to international politics with the demands of morality." His approach is that of a policy analyst with an explicit normative commitment, one who seeks to "uplift politics" by clearly diagnosing what is and pushing it toward what ought to be. He charts this course with an acute sense of the narrow straits through which morality must be pursued in world politics. The obstacles to a morally correct posture are rooted in the nature of international relations: a sovereign state system devoid of centralized institutions or political consensus, pervasive value conflicts among the states, and the uncertainty which accompanies even the best intentioned actions. In the face of these facts, Hoffmann maintains a reserved but determined conviction that moral choice is both possible and essential for foreign policy.

This conviction is manifested in his three chapters of applied ethics on the use of force, human rights, and distributive justice. In these chapters the complementarity of Hoffman's empirical analysis and his ethical commitment are on display. To read Hoffman's policy analysis is to be made aware of the value of the classical approach to world politics, but also to be shown its limits. In the nuclear age, the use of force is not simply an extension of what Clauswitz understood war to be; in an interdependent age a Hobbesian approach to scarce resources threatens not only the poor but also the powerful. Yet the potential for war is still with us, and no consensus on access to resources exists. In the face of these conditions, the classical formula of incremental change designed to preserve a moderate international system is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of world order. More is needed; indeed the limits of the classical approach open the way for the more ambitious imperatives of "ethical international politics." Hoffman summarizes the case: "We need a statecraft that stresses long-term collective gains rather than short- or long-term national advantages; that accepts the need for a large measure of institutionalization in international affairs, and for important commitments of resources to common enterprises; that shows great restraint in its use of means; and that goes, in its choice of ends, far beyond the realm of interstate relations."

In other writings Hoffman has called this brand of statecraft world order politics. It is a mix of disciplined intellectual analysis and pervasive moral commitment. Its objective is not only to know the right and the good, but to know how to realize them. In Hoffman's words: "The criteria of moral politics are double: sound principles and effectiveness." The author of *Duties Beyond Borders* is always the intellectual sceptic but never the moral cynic. The value of the work is not that all should agree, but that each should have the experience of knowing why one disagrees with Hoffman's nuanced argument.

Such an encounter would benefit different groups in the policy debate. The recent memorandum on human rights from the State Department with its univocal stress on freedom as the embodiment of a human rights policy should be tested against Hoffmann's rigorous chapter on the same theme. Activists in the churches and other groups con-

(Continued on page 730)

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HOMEMAKING AMIDST RAGS

Madonna of the street

FANNY KRAISS DeVINE

Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands. Serve the Lord with gladness; come before His presence with singing– Psalm 100:1-2.

IT WAS late December when I arrived in southern India. Pondicherry was in the grip of the stale heat that settles in after the monsoons have drenched the parched earth, and as quickly and thoroughly the sirocco winds that follow cracked it with drought, like shattered glass. Now the heat was a sort of lethargy that hovered thick with smells—a mixture of frangipani laced with decay. An occasional breeze was neither longed for nor welcomed, because that breeze might catch one downwind from an open sewer.

My room at the inn was geared for indoor-outdoor living; three walls enclosed small quarters for protection from the weather, and a doorway led to an extension which formed a balcony There were no windows and the wide doorway simply served for light, air, and privacy by letting down the strings of wooden beads. My cot rolled easily for a position to suit the seasons.

The evening meal of rice, chapates, and a mango, together with mint tea was served to me on the balcony by one of the minions from the kitchen. They could hardly be called servants, for they received so little more than their subsistence that they were truly servile dependents. No cutlery accompanied my food, and I soon enough adapted to eating with the fingers—so cleverly designed for just that purpose.

I settled down on my cot and felt the vastness of the night sky fold its secret ways all around me. The moon hung its new crescent just above and stars shone all about—like quicksilver points in limbo, darting their own fire.

If India is indeed the land of mystery, then I was, already on my first night, caught up and enthralled.

It was close to midnight when my senses, liberated from their mortal freight, were torn from their sublimated wanderings and concentrated, centered on one sound: a very young child's crying. It came from the street below. A woman's voice joined the wailing of the infant. Her voice was soft—like the night air. The down of the smallest bird could not give more the impression of gentleness. The child quieted and for a brief time a crooning melody was the only sound. Yes, I thought, lullabies should always be original; always the inspiration of the mother's heart. She cannot communicate with her child's need by borrowing from a composer.

My musings were interrupted by the voice of a man. He was speaking in the rapid, clipped syllables of Hindi, and the woman answered in acquiescent monosyllables.

I finally drifted into deep slumber until the high-pitched street noises of dawn coaxed me awake. I rang for the minion to bring tea. There was much to do—a new world to explore, and the sounds of last evening had doubled my curiosity. Already at six in the morning the air was oppressive. The oleander on my balcony reflected the general lassitude. Only the bougainvillia was crisp as always—like crumpled tissue. I put away my Western clothes, so unsuitable for south temperate zones, and slipped into a white cotton garment of trousers and tunic.

After chapates and goat cheese for breakfast, I left, prepared to spend the day. In my pocket was a net bag which would serve to carry home fruit. This self-serving intention proved to be difficult to achieve, for nine out of ten among the throngs of people seemed to be beggars; and fruit, even in this fertile climate, was nevertheless not available to indigents trapped in the city. Walking through town with food of any kind exposed in a string bag means giving it all away. A hand outheld palm down is a friendly gesture inviting a handshake; but the outstretched hand, palm up, is a poignant gesture of need and desperation — turning to despair if ignored. So I learned to carry some of the fruit in my pockets, in order to avoid turning mendicant also.

As I left my so-called hotel, I turned at the front door in order to round the corner to reach the side my room balcony faced. There seemed to be a great confusion everywhere, but no great rush; a measured pace lent dignity to the heat. But the voices expressed excitement, and dark eyes held deep fires; only the cows wandering amiably through the crowds cast their tranquil spell — perhaps because a path was always respectfully cleared for them. Who knows what high-born ancestor might be fulfilling an earthly sojourn in that cow's skin?

Against a public building I saw what looked like a collection of castoffs; rags! On approaching closer I noticed a small child

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lying contentedly in the midst of them. A young woman approached, balancing a clay jar on her head. She walked gracefully toward the little one, set down her water jar, then picked up the child with some words of greeting. The child laughed; and the mother set her little one down. While the mother busied herself the child toddled about contentedly.

Out of the pile of what looked like nothing but castoffs appeared all the essentials for making a home right on the street backed up against the front-facing well of a public building. At first she combed her beautiful long black hair, dressing it repeatedly with dabs of oil from a small bottle. She parted her hair in the center and carefully braided it in one braid at the nape of her neck. When she came close to the ends of her own hair, she deftly worked an extender-braid into the remaining three sections until she had (what appeared to be her own) one long braid to far below the waist. She outlined her almond-shaped black eyes with a stick of charcoal and from a small jar of paste she re-applied the Tika to her forehead, indicating "wifehood" to all the world. Then, as if she were indeed in the privacy of her own boudoir, this proud little homemaker effected a complete readjustment of her sari — arranging it skillfully in graceful folds. On one bare ankle was a brass circlet and brass jingled on her wrists as she made her toilette. The child seemed to be comforted by these sounds and moved happily around his mother.

The sun was still at the back of the building — so that mother and child were in shade. Out of the clutter she produced a sort of clay hour-glass cooker — with space for coals in the top portion, and draft to enter from the lower portion, where also the ashes could fall. Then she reached around and brought out several pieces of dried cowchips. By crumbling these she managed to produce enough fire in the top portion of the cooker to warm up water in a battered pot to cook a gruel of rice. The child drank this in small, trusting gulps from a clay bowl. Love must provide powerful nutrition — for how else do such children often grow so serenely and so handsomely? And why is it that so often where love is lacking the most lavish diet appears to be nurturing weeds?

I was an outsider looking in — into the private home of a family; watching their intimate life. And the little family was making a home on the street, for lack of shelter, oblivious of passers-by; only the occasional cow was taken notice of — for there was the possible promise of a fresh fuel supply for another day. The mother did not "feel" watched — for she was "homemaking" within the circle of her sentient spirit; she was earth-bound for this life and was fulfilling her destiny without question and without expectations.

The small child, covered with a brief shirt and nothing more, felt at home and contented. His mother was there with him and sooner or later she would offer him food; love and companionship he felt all the time. At night his father would come "home."

Early that evening I sat on my balcony. A small child's laughter floated up to me and a woman's steady murmur — always punctuated by the delight of a child's laughter. Unashamedly I watched the scene on the street below. The mother was telling stories to her child at the end of the day — all the while cradling the little one in her arms.

I was an outsider — looking in. The little family was at home — occupied with "home-making." The fox was in his stonecroft, the wolf in his lair, the bird in its nest; and the little family homesteading on the street against a public building in Pondicherry was fulfilling its destiny with trust and quiet acquiescence, laying up treasures for their own Karmas; and who knows, they may be the true inheritors of the earth.

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will. —Luke 2:14.

A HALF MILLION CAUGHT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA & SOMALIA

The politics of homelessness

HELEN WINTERNITZ

IT HAS BEEN four years since the first refugees began trickling and then flooding into relief camps in the arid and inhospitable hinterlands of Somalia. About half a million people subsist in these camps now, waiting for ration days when their free food is doled out. They are waiting also for the time when they might return to their traditional lives as free-ranging nomads or independent small farmers in the most remote regions of the Horn of Africa, scrub-brush territories in easternmost Ethiopia and westernmost Somalia that have gained political significance because they are sliced by the disputed border dividing the two countries.

But just as the arid plains of these regions seem to stretch endlessly, to the horizon and beyond, so too there appears no end in sight to the political conflicts and maneuverings at the root of the refugees' plight, Somalia and Ethiopia remain

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bitter enemies after the all-out war that began in 1977 with a cross-border invasion of Ethiopia's Ogaden region by Somalia, which for decades has coveted the region populated largely by nomads of Somali lineage whom it believes were unjustly made Ethiopian subjects under a colonial agreement at the turn of the century. The war ended in 1978 with the rout of the Somali army and resulted in the first influx of refugees seeking asylum from the destruction of livestock and villages that accompanied the fighting. Particularly severe droughts in recent years have exacerbated the original problem.

The longstanding Ethiopian-Somali enmity has been buttressed by the Soviet Union and the United States, which have played a game of superpower musical chairs with their alliances in the Horn and abetted the conflict rather than pressuring for a settlement. The Soviet Union has poured $2 billion worth of armaments into Ethiopia, formerly a staunch American client state, and the United States has pledged Somalia, the erstwhile Soviet ally, $40 million worth of theoretically defensive arms. The United States also has provided Somalia many more millions in relief assistance for the refugees.

Although there is no denying that the refugee aid has in part a humanitarian impulse, there is also no denying that it has a strategic motive, guaranteeing the unlikely friendship of the United States with socialist Somalia and maintaining it as an anti-Soviet bastion in Africa as well as in the crucial Indian Ocean sphere. Ethiopia, too, has hundreds of thousands of destitute and displaced people on its hands in the Ogaden, people who have not crossed the border and are therefore not officially classified as refugees. But Ethiopia's radical military government, which has become the Soviet Union's most important African ally, has seen all its economic aid from the United States cut off and is getting only about $7 million annually in American humanitarian aid, a relative pittance when it comes to international-scale relief donations.

Neither of the superpowers has invested any military or economic brawn in ending the dispute, which keeps both countries on the Horn in edgy fear of one another and anxious not to lose the might of their respective foreign backers. Admittedly, it would take a lot of pressure to bring peace to the Horn. The most recent move by the Organization of African Unity to address the problem left the two sides farther apart than ever. At its June meeting in Nairobi, the OAU resolved that the Ogaden is "an integral part" of Ethiopia, in accordance with the organization's policy that old colonial boundaries must be respected in order to prevent chaos throughout the African continent. The Somalis immediately rejected this conclusion and then the Ethiopians scathingly attacked the Somalis for their disobedience to the organization's decision, while publicly announcing that any possibilities of negotiations over the region were out of the question. Before the convening of the OAU, there had been persistent rumors in diplomatic circles that negotiations might be in the offing.

Meanwhile, Somalia and Ethiopia persist with their arguments over the refugees and over who is to blame. Major General Siad Barre, president of Somalia's military government, has insisted that the refugees cannot return to the Ogaden until peace reigns there, meaning until Ethiopia takes the implausible step of granting self-determination to the indigenuous Somali peoples there. Nor can the refugees settle permanently in Somalia, according to the government's stance, because the country has not sufficient resources to support them and, more importantly, because the Ogaden is their rightful homeland.

"The Ethiopians are trying to depopulate the Ogaden of Somalis," said Abdi M. Tarah, Somalia's Extraordinary Commissioner for Refugees, during an interview at his office in the capital of Mogadishu. "They have destroyed villages, poisoned wells, killed the livestock, and made these people flee because they are Somalis. The world must recognize this injustice."

In the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, Tarah's counterpart had other things to say. "We never knew that the Somalis were able to tell such big lies," said Shimelis Adougnas, commissioner of the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission. "Many of these people whom they claim are refugees were forced to go with the Somali army when it withdrew over the border. Also many, many of them are people who have been suffering from droughts, so they go to the camps in Somalia where they can get free food. If a Somali tells you that these people were destroyed by the Ethiopian army, he is lying. Somalia is using the refugees for politics and to get aid from the international community."

The international community also took some harsh criticism last spring at a United Nations conference convened to garner pledges of financial assistance for African refugees. The donor countries there pledged a whopping $560 million for African refugees, the largest portion of them in Somalia, a sum that included a promise of $285 million from the United States. Even as the pledges were being announced, Jama Mohamed Ghalib, Somalia's chief delegate to the conference and Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, scored the donors for having "chosen the less controversial path of treating the sick rather than trying to prevent the disease" and having "not seriously faced the challenge—to find a political solution to this problem." A crucial element to a political settlement, he continued, would be the "removal of external forces from the Horn of Africa," a reference to Cuban forces garrisoned in Ethiopia, the bulk of them in the Ogaden, as part of the Soviet Union's military assistance package.

ETHIOPIA, of course took umbrage at this final statement, as it does with most Somali pronouncements and vice versa. Ethiopian officials chronically argue that the 15,000 Cuban troops would never have been called for if Somalia had not made it necessary by attacking the Ogaden in the first place. The Soviet Union responded with arms and Cubans to an appeal for military help at the outset of the war when Ethiopia was being trounced by Somalia and it was this outside assistance that enabled the Ethiopian army to turn around the losing war.

When present-day Somalia gained its independence in 1960—the northern half created from former British Somali-

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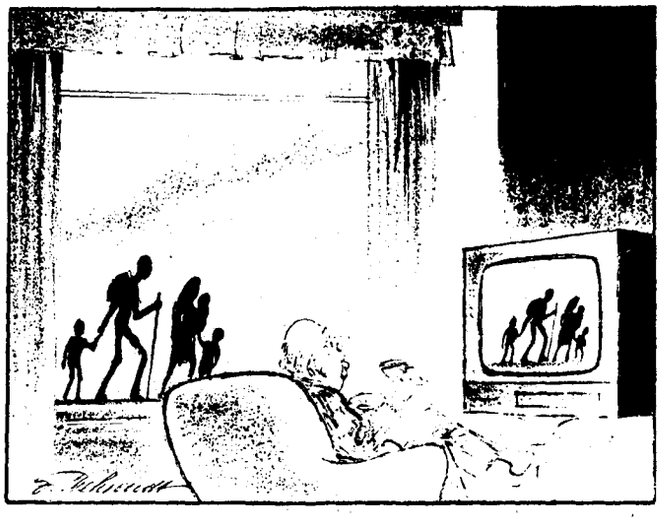
land and the southern half from former Italian Somalia—it adopted a flag flaunting a five-pointed white star at its center to symbolize the "pan-Somalia" goal of uniting all five of the Somali-inhabited territories that had been divided during the colonial era. The British and Italian portions were welded together, but the French colony at the port of Djibouti, a sizable chunk of northeastern Kenya, and the Ogaden were missing. Djibouti opted in an internal referendum to become an independent nation, the Kenyan army was too strong to risk attacking and so the Ogaden was left as the principal basis of Somalia's dream of regaining the "lost territories."

In 1977, the Ogaden became a tempting possibility. Ethiopia was in turmoil as civilian leftists and the Marxist military group that managed the 1974 overthrow of the old emperorship battled for control of the government. At the same time, the United States quietly implied that Somalia could expect some military backing if it attacked the post-revolution Ethiopian regime, which was from the American point of view espousing increasingly unpalatable radical ideologies. The United States did not come through in the end, Somalia suffered an utter defeat, and President Barre was forced to back off from his policy of annexing the Ogaden.

Somalia, however, continues to support the Western Somali Liberation Front, a guerrilla organization fighting to liberate the region from Ethiopian control and keeping up a low-level harassment by ambushing Ethiopian troops and mining roads. Among the victims of the mined roads in recent months were two trucks carrying food supplies to Ethiopian government relief settlements. A couple of other and smaller anti-Ethiopia guerrilla groups, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Somali-Abbo Liberation Front, also are operating in parts of the Ogaden, further complicating the tension.

Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam, chairman of the Dergue, Ethiopia's ruling military council, has placed paramount importance upon squashing the WSLF and other secessionist groups, including the Eritrean and Tigrean movements in the north. Mengistu has decided—as did his imperial predecessor, Emperor Haile Selassie—that he cannot afford to lose a single region to the secessionists, lest the other groups gain encouragement and the whole of the ancient empire disintegrate.



Both Ethiopia and Somali rank on the list of the world's poorest and least developed countries but both are draining mammoth portions of their budgets into their armed forces. According to various estimates, Ethiopia lays out from thirty percent to more than fifty percent of its annual budget for the military and Somalia upwards of forty percent. With 300,000 troops, Ethiopia can boast of having the largest army in black Africa, one-third of which is deployed in the Ogaden. Somalia has concentrated the best of its relatively ragtag forces on the opposite side of the border, where in previous centuries no demarcation existed and nomads crossed freely in search of seasonal pasturage for their herds of camels, cattle, and goats.

The soldiers of both sides, ironically, carry identical Soviet-made Kalashnikov combat rifles supplied to each during their alliances with Moscow. After the Soviets began airlifting armaments to Ethiopia during the war, Somalia broke off its treaty of friendship with the Russians and expelled them from their military base at the Red Sea port of Berbera. The United States moved to fill the gap and this year signed a treaty to supply defensive armaments to Somalia in return for the use of Berbera as a staging facility for the Rapid Deployment Force and as a counter to the new Soviet base on the Dahlak Islands off Ethiopia's more northern coast. The American arms have not yet begun arriving. Whether the weapons will be used solely for defense remains to be seen, since there is an easy exchange between the regular Somali army and the WSLF. Somali soldiers shed of their regulation uniforms look and talk like Somali guerrillas.

Soviet arms also have been flowing into the Ogaden via Libya, which earlier this year was airlifting weapons to the Somali Salvation Front, an organization of supposed Somali dissidents that the Ethiopian government has nurtured as a way of conducting cross-border raids against Somalia. The airlift from Libya to SSF bases in the Ogaden was halted after the Sudan protested that the overhead flights were a violation of its airspace.

Behind these alignments and the bitter politicking are the refugees, still waiting. "The biggest problem here is the future of the refugees," said Ernst Reinhardt, a Swiss disaster relief official who was in charge of administering a conglomeration of eight refugee camps that sprawl along a solitary stretch of the Juba River about forty miles from where the watercourse crosses the border and then cuts eastward across an expanse of plains vegetated by nothing more lush than a dozen varieties of thorn trees. "They can't just continue to sit here and rot, with nothing to do and no place to go," he said.

"I want to go back," said an elderly woman in one of the camps on the Juba, "because my home was beautiful because I had my family there and my animals there and I could live like a person." The woman said she had been three years in the camp, living in a stick hut furnished with a few blackened pots, a dirty blanket and some matting, one of the thousands of such huts threaded by dusty pathways and unrelieved by trees, grass, or any vista other than the plains.

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ONE VIEW OF THE OPTIONS IN EL SALVADOR

The case for negotiations

PHILLIP BERRYMAN

TWO DAYS after Ronald Reagan's election there surfaced in Washington a "dissent memo" purportedly the work of disgruntled members of an interagency task force on El Salvador. Besides criticizing the Carter policy, it advocated a "Zimbabwe option"; as the conservative Thatcher government oversaw a negotiated end to that war, the Reagan administration could surprise the world with a similar pragmatic approach. In the event, the opposite tack was taken, El Salvador being made into a "test case" of United States resolve in the face of Soviet expansionism.

In the meantime, there have been repeated efforts to promote a negotiated solution, from Panamanian General Omar Torrijos, who sought to bring together reform-minded officers and some sectors of the left, to the Socialist International, and several governments (especially Mexico), to Archbishop Rivera y Damas of San Salvador. The August 28th Mexican-French recognition of the FMLN/FDR (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front/Revolutionary Democratic Front) as a "representative political force" was clearly aimed at having them included in any solution to the country's problems. In October, Colonel Adolfo Majano, an original junta leader broke a long silence to advocate a negotiated solution.

While the FDR/FMLN has expressed its willingness to negotiate, and junta president Jose Napoleon Duarte at one point hinted his openness, the army, which effectively rules the country, has firmly refused.

With a death toll already of 25,000 people—one out of every 200 Salvadorans—it seems obvious that a solution which could spare the country further bloodshed and the concomitant ruin of property and productive capacity, is in the interests of everybody.

What, then, impedes a negotiated solution?

Partly in response to the clamor for negotiations and to the public response to what looked like a headlong plunge into Indochina II, the Reagan administration, echoed by the Duarte government, now stresses a "political" solution, which in effect means a March 1982 election of a constituent assembly, which would draft a new constitution and prepare for direct elections to be held later, probably in 1983. On July 16, 1981, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders stated that the Salvadoran government is attempting to "overcome . . . divisions . . . by establishing a more democratic system."

> It is only realistic to recognize that extremists on both left and right still oppose elections. We should recognize that El Salvador's leaders will not—and should not—grant the insurgents through negotiations the share of power the rebels have not been able to win on the battlefield. But they should be—and are—willing to compete with the insurgents at the polls.

Enders indicated that "negotiations *on electoral issues* among eligible political parties" (his emphasis) would be the only kind the U.S. could participate in.

His plea for "elections open to all who are willing to renounce violence and abide by the procedures of democracy" is evidently aimed at U.S. consumption. No one with on-the-ground experience in El Salvador can believe that its present leaders are "willing to compete with the insurgents at the polls." After all, on March 30, 1981 the army published a list of 138 "traitors," including virtually every well-known opposition leader. It is the same army which has ruled El Salvador directly for fifty years (with two brief civilian interludes totaling nine months), and which carried out the electoral frauds of 1972 and 1977 against moderate opposition coalitions.

Such an election will merely serve to give superficial legitimacy to the Duarte/military regime (assuming Duarte and the Christian Democrats last until March), while it pursues its primary objective, a military defeat of the opposition, which also remains the real goal of the Reagan administration.

BY NOW, objections to U.S. policy in El Salvador take a predictable line: the notion of a "reform" government caught between extremes of right and left is a myth; Duarte is a figleaf for the military; 80 percent of the violence comes from official forces and the death squads which operate with impunity; land reform has benefited only a small percentage of the peasantry; the opposition is not a hard core of Marxist fanatics but is broadly based and has a great deal of support, especially from grass-roots Christians. Valid as these considerations may be, they are hardly calculated to move the Reagan administration, fixated as it is on a military victory.

Only a clear presentation, based on facts, of the ultimate unworkability of present policy might have some effect. Un-

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fortunately the Reagan circle with its ideological certitude seems impermeable to the "specificities" of the Salvadoran case.

Until the administration becomes interested in the facts—even those which contradict their certitudes—there is little hope for change in policy. However, let us imagine for a moment, that suspecting that something is going wrong, Reagan and his kitchen cabinet decide to bring in a "professional" as opposed to one of their ideologues. They give him fifteen minutes to make his pitch. He clears his throat and begins:

"Mr. President, I'm going to lay it on the line. We're coming to a fork in the road in our El Salvador policy and there's a lot at stake. A wrong decision could affect everything you're trying to do.

"I don't have to remind you that you inherited this situation late in the day—more than eleventh hour, I'd say a quarter to twelve. Frankly it caught all of us off guard. Maybe with guerrillas put down in several countries and the fall of Allende, we didn't take the left seriously enough, especially in these tiny Central American countries. We ignored the radicalization which took place after the 1972 and 1977 election frauds. Could the junta thing have worked? At present our intelligence shows that right away it was taken over by military types who didn't want any real changes. So by early 1980 the die was cast.

"The basic problem is that the opposition is just too strong now. True there are only a few thousand full-time guerrillas vs. 18,000 in the Guard and the Army but there's no hard and fast line between the guerrillas and their supporters. We think it's fair to estimate they have 200,000 active supporters, people working and ready to die. This is not Argentina or Uruguay where you had urban middle-class guerrillas. Here they're mainly peasants and are very highly organized, far more than the Sandinistas. Morale is impossible to quantify but you've got to realize that a lot of these people got involved through church work, so there's a religious factor. True, the bishops are on our side—except for Rivera y Damas who tries to stay in the middle—but at the local level there's a lot of church involvement.

"I know you're concerned about Cuban and Soviet involvement. Obviously the Cubans have given them training and advice and must have helped them make international contacts, but we don't have real hard evidence of large involvement in arms. More to the point, these people are not really dependent on outside arms deliveries. As for the Soviets, our estimate is that they are mainly expecting to recover when we fumble.

"Turning to our side, I've got to be frank: they've done very poorly in direct combat situations, and are best at controlling the civilian population. The Guard, which is made up of veterans, is better than the army, but there are only 6,000 Guardsmen. We had 1300 casualties the first five months of this year, and our intelligence indicates that very few honest-to-God guerrillas were killed.

"Then there's corruption. Remember we caught one of these guys trying to sell the mob 10,000 guns in this country a few years ago. The most obvious effect of the so-called 'reforms' has been to give the military a bigger piece of the action: they've gotten more lands themselves, they get protection money from peasant co-ops, and they're speculating in real estate and black market dollars as the wealthy try to get out. In fact, they're getting cash out themselves, hedging their bets.

"Which brings up a point we haven't faced squarely so far. Some calculate the right have taken $5 billion out of the country since 1978. That's over a whole year's GNP. So the economy's a mess: no investment, negative growth, and no prospects. Our normal aid programs were a few million a year; for fiscal '81 it was about $140 million and soon they're going to need hundreds of millions a year. It will be hard—next to impossible—to get that from the IMF and the big banks and you can imagine the response in Congress if we have to foot the bill.

"Some call the military situation an impasse but in this kind of war if you're not winning, you're losing. Time, unfortunately, is on their side. They don't hold any major towns but they do have control of a large strip in the north, about 30 percent of the country and our side has not been able to dislodge them permanently from the areas they hold. At the very least they can keep the economy in check, and disrupt things.

"Right now it's a war of attrition. Most of the losses are on their side but it's not the guerrillas but their supporters and suspects. They've been hitting soldiers, Guardsmen, police, and government collaborators hard, and we've got an increasing morale problem.

"Underneath their superficial toughness these Central American armies are unreliable. Somoza's Guard plain fell apart during the transition—they ran away in their underwear. We think something similar might happen here if the U.S. withdrew support.

"So where does this leave us? I'd say we've got four possibilities:

1. Continue as we are. Support our side at the present level. A lot more people might be killed. The problem is the opposition would probably win, sooner or later, and the longer and bloodier it goes, the more radical it would come out, and the more likely they'd simply go to the Soviets.

2. Get involved ourselves. With our troops and firepower we could stop the left. But there are lots of questions: Once we were there how would we get out? Would we get bogged down in Guatemala, where, I don't need to tell you, the problem is very serious? You can imagine the international outcry: Afghanistan, after all, is on the Russian border while El Salvador is a thousand miles from Brownsville. Domestically, direct involvement would generate a very large protest movement, especially the religious lobby. It would be ready-made for those who are opposed to the administration on other grounds.

3. Encourage friendly countries like Chile or Argentina to get directly involved. They're sympathetic but they don't want to get bogged down in something unwinnable, especially if it

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looks like they're doing our 'dirty work.'

4. Negotiate. The basic reason is simple: cut our losses. We stand to lose more, the longer this drags out.

"El Salvador itself is peanuts. Our aid last year was more than total U.S. investment there, so in dollar terms we're already losing. We've got to distinguish clearly between places like this and, say, Saudi Arabia.

"Granted that seeing El Salvador fall to leftists is a blow. But remember, according to our analysis, there's a very high probability of it going that way anyhow. The choice is between negotiations, where we might have some influence, and seeing a very hostile regime come in—admittedly with a basket-case of a country.

"There are a couple of potentially mitigating factors. Number one, the main left groups are not pro-Soviet. They broke from the Communists over ten years ago. Possibly we could have a Mugabe-type situation—not that I see us as giving them aid. However, they're going to need lots of foreign aid, and the main source will have to be Western Europe. That should make them act somewhat responsibly.

"Also, they're going to inherit a mess. Worse than Somoza left the Sandinistas. There are serious divisions among them, which might emerge later. So while it's not likely, you can even speculate on some kind of turn-around subsequently.

"The U.S. should keep a low profile in negotiations and let Mexico and other countries, Latin American and European, work it out. Our job would be to bring the military to the negotiating table—ultimately threatening to pull the rug out from under them if necessary.

"You'd have to take a lot of heat from some of your supporters if you accepted a negotiated solution. However, I'd suggest you put the blame where it belongs, on the Carter administration. You did your best with an impossible situation.

"In conclusion, Mr. President, I would urge you to get independent assessments of the picture I've painted here. If I'm corroborated, I think you have to ask yourself whether the wrong kind of involvement in Central America might not end the consensus you want on the number-one priority, the economy, and actually hurt our ability to respond elsewhere where our vital interests are really at stake—and so play into the hands of the enemies of America."

IT WAS ONLY after writing the foregoing exercise of imagination that I came across the remarkable congressional testimony of Robert Leiken, the director of the Soviet Latin America project at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. On September 24, 1981 he told the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs that his investigatory trip to El Salvador led him to conclude that a negotiated solution is in the best interests of the United States. In Leiken's assessment one-third of the people in El Salvador support the opposition, at most one-fifth support the government, and the "neutrality" of those remaining includes "an overriding hatred of the military" and a feeling of "what could be worse than what we have?"

Intriguingly, it is Leiken's concern about Soviet expansionism which makes him argue *for* a negotiated settlement. As he sees it, the Soviet Union's main strategic objective is to weaken the Western Alliance. A deepening U.S. involvement in Central America could both tie it down militarily, and drive a wedge between it and its Western allies.

There has been some recent momentum toward negotiations, generated partly by the Mexican-French recognition of the FMLN/FDR as a "representative political force" and its echoes in several other governments and other bodies such as the European Parliament, as well as an FMLN/FDR proposal for a political solution put forth by the Nicaraguan government in the UN General Assembly on October 7. While some twelve Latin American governments protested the Mexican-French statement as outside "intervention," at least five of them made it clear that they favored a mediated solution.

In the U.S. Congress there is an increasing interest in negotiations as an alternative to the administration's fixation on a military win. Representatives have held informal discussions with Mexican and French diplomats. On November 5, the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee, some of whose members are quite conservative, voted 9-0, urging the president to "press for unconditional discussions" among all contending parties to assure free elections. While the stress on elections perhaps clouds the issue, the unanimity of the vote may be taken as pointing toward an alternative approach.

Thus far, the administration seems to be heeding neither the Leikens, nor foreign governments, nor Congress. Secretary of State Haig's almost daily characterizing of the Nicaraguan government as "totalitarian" and blustering threats about military options, seem to be aimed at providing a new rationale for escalation in Central America. Since hard evidence—as opposed to insistent assertions—of large-scale arms shipments to Salvadoran rebels from Cuba and/or Nicaragua is not forthcoming, the new basic argument may become: we must stop other countries from becoming like Nicaragua, i.e., "totalitarian." Unfortunately the U.S. press has made little effort to get an inside view of what happens in Nicaragua and has tended to take certain elements out of context (some parts of the private sector, and *La Prensa*, their mouthpiece) as a litmus test on which to base a complete judgment. Its labeling is serving the administration in what is rapidly becoming an eerie re-enactment of what happened with Cuba over twenty years ago.

Curiously, a force for restraint on the Haig State Department's press for a military solution may be coming from an unexpected source—the Pentagon. According to press accounts, U.S. military planners are asking whether the problem is fundamentally military or political—so much so, that they speak of a "role reversal" vis-à-vis the State Department.

WHILE FRIENDLY COUNTRIES could facilitate negotiations, and the United States cooperation would be a *sine qua non*, the chief parties to the negotiations would have to be the Salvadoran armed forces and the FMLN/FDR. It is not at all easy to imagine what kind of negotiations are possible.

El Salvador is not Rhodesia-Zimbabwe. In that case it was

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possible to find some middle ground by separating the political from the economic, achieving black majority rule, while leaving largely intact the economic power of those whites who wanted to remain. Finding a possible middle ground seems intractable in El Salvador.

The most difficult problem is a procedure for stopping the violence. Most of the deaths—human rights and church groups say at least 80 percent—are those of civilians killed by official forces or right wing groups operating with impunity. If there were to be a new armed forces and police made up of members of the present official forces and the FMLN, those responsible for atrocities would have to be excluded. One procedure might be to define very clearly such atrocities, lay down procedures for bringing those guilty to trial, and allowing a period for people to leave the country. As reasonable as this might seem abstractly, it is questionable how many officers and troops would feel free to remain to form part of a new armed forces.

This point appears to offer little room for negotiation from either side. From the viewpoint of the official forces, the oligarchy, and the U.S., the permanence of the armed forces is essential. Yet from the viewpoint of the opposition and even from ordinary people, most of whom have seen their family members or neighbors killed, often with cruel tortures, a solution which allowed large numbers of those responsible to escape punishment might seem excessively lenient.

If that fundamental issue could be resolved, others could indeed be negotiated. Some kind of political process, including elections, would enter the negotiations. It should be possible to assemble a "government of national reconciliation," made up of individuals widely recognized as honest and not implicated in the previous violence.

Some guidelines for economic reforms would have to be agreed upon. A new government would certainly carry out a genuine land reform, including the expropriation of the coffee lands, the backbone of the agro-export sector. Since most of the oligarchy has already fled with as much cash as possible, a "mixed economy" might be formed on what was left behind, on the analogy of what the Sandinista government has done with what Somoza left.

Admittedly the above paragraphs do little more than outline areas for discussion. At present the FMLN/FDR proposes negotiations which would be "comprehensive," facilitated by outside governments, and which would be fully reported to the Salvadoran people. The Duarte government and the military continue to insist that the opposition must lay down its arms to participate in the March election of a constituent assembly, a proposal which the FMLN/FDR understandably rejects.

United States responsibility is crucial—only the U.S. can bring the military to the negotiating table, if necessary by threatening to pull the plug. While the U.S. military aid and advisors could conceivably be replaced from other sources (e.g., Argentina) U.S. support is almost the only legitimizing factor for the government. Even more important, a protracted struggle would cost hundreds of millions of dollars, and eventually billions, simply for government payroll and to prop up the economy. Ultimately only the United States (directly and

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through international banks) will be able to foot the bill.

As unpalatable—indeed unthinkable—as a negotiated approach must be to the Reagan administration, its planners must face starkly the real alternatives: a long, costly, dirty, bloody war, which "winning" would mean killing perhaps 2-4 percent of the population of El Salvador, with a consequent international outcry and large-scale domestic dissent—and a real danger of a regionalized conflict with unpredictable results—versus a negotiated process which should result in a government which could bring stability to El Salvador and would be able to work out a practical modus vivendi with the United States.

Screen

HOT TICKETS

JUST LIKE THE OLD DAYS

I DON'T SEE as many movies as I used to. I know I've complained about this before, but it still bothers me. The movies I've had to cut out, because of other demands on my time, are the oldies but goodies. That kind of movie used to comprise about half of what I saw, and when I quit seeing it, moviegoing got depressing.

The period I liked best was the one in America right after the war, the time of *film noir – The Big Sleep, Double Indemnity, The Big Heat*. There's a lost romance just in the titles alone. It wasn't only the classics I saw, though. I tried to take in as many movies of that kind and time as I could find. I used to wonder, in fact, whether I could ever scrape the bottom of that barrel. If I could actually see those movies as plentifully as current releases, would I find their quality as uneven? Or would they remain as inexhaustibly wonderful as they seemed? (I became so obsessive that I once read all the *New York Times* reviews from 1940 to 1960, trying to figure out how many movies that I'd never seen were *films noirs*. It took me a month, off and on. When I added those whose reviews made them sound right to the ones I had seen, the list ran around 1,000 titles.) Like the man says, you can stay around a long, long time. You ain't never gonna see the like o' that again.

Almost never, anyhow. The amazing thing is that every once in a while you *do* see a movie as good as those. There was Altman's *The Long Goodbye* several years ago, and right now there are two around — *True Confessions*, based on John Gregory Dunne's sensational novel, and, better still, Lawrence Kasdan's *Body Heat*. Shortly after the beginning of *Body Heat*, Ned Racine (William Hurt) wanders along a boardwalk, trying to escape the heat that swelters even after dark in the little Florida town where he practices law. As he stops to listen to a band concert, a woman in a white dress with a peek-a-boo slit gets up to leave. She walks toward the ocean, hoping to catch a breeze, and Ned follows her. The band is playing "That Old Feeling," which is just what I'm getting. This scene where Ned tries to pick up Matty (Kathleen Turner) has the sharpest backchat I've heard since Fred MacMurray began trying to sell insurance to Barbara Stanwyck at about the same point in *Double Indemnity*.

After Ned buys Matty a cherry snow cone, he starts coming on, telling her how much he needs someone to "rub my tired muscles and smooth my sheets."

"Get a wife," she suggests coolly.

"I only need it for tonight," he replies, smiling.

That line breaks the ice, the clump of it in Matty's snowcone cup, from which she spills cherry syrup over the bosom of her white dress as she laughs.

"Get me a wet towel," she commands.

"I'll even wipe it off," he says, still smiling, and heading for the bathrooms across the boardwalk.

"You don't want to lick it?" she asks as he disappears in the men's room door.

But when he re-emerges with the dampened paper towel, she's gone. This is always the problem in this kind of movie. People never mean what they say. Just when you think a dame's got one thing on her mind, it turns out she's got another. It's not only Ned's problem, but Lawrence Kasdan's. In a movie where nobody ever lets slip their true feelings, where everybody has ulterior motives and something to conceal, how things really stand has to be shown in a lot of subtle, sub-textural ways. That takes style. It takes technique, which is beyond most directors today. In the forties, the studios provided novice movie-makers with an apprenticeship, an opportunity to learn technique. But now a young director coming up has to learn it all on his own. Since self-education is the hardest kind, not many succeed at it as well as Kasdan has.

This is not to say that Kasdan, as either a writer or a director, has had to invent movies from scratch. *Body Heat* is a re-make of *Double Indemnity*, from which Kasdan has lifted both his story and the personalities of his characters. Sometimes he has even lifted the style, as when Ned first suggests to Matty that they kill her husband (Richard Crenna). The zebra stripe of sunlight squinting through the venetian blinds at this moment is a touch from Stanwyck's living room in the earlier movie. (A few other touches, making us feel the oppressiveness of the heat, come out of *Key Largo*.) But Kasdan knows he can't succeed in the present by aping the past. As he pointed out in a Boston paper when his film opened there, "I conceived of *Body Heat* . . . as an homage to *film noir* . . . [But] people that go to these movies across the country are experiencing them for the first time. If you could take a 25-year-old man from Des Moines, and have him see *Body Heat*, I hope that he can relate to William Hurt's character as a modern person and that the things he does make sense to him. . . . If I fail all those tests, then you can say that it's just a re-creation of a genre."

For the benefit of that guy in Des Moines, Kasdan has made a movie that's pretty self-contained. You don't have to know ancient history like *Double Indemnity* to know what gives here. In fact, *Body Heat* is so self-contained, it's claus-

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trophobic, which is one reason that it works. Kasdan's own style begins with a little fudging on reality. We know that Florida is air-conditioned up to its chattering teeth today, but Kasdan gets us to accept the premise that the air-conditioners are all on the fritz in this town, that the heat wave is unprecedented, etc. Through this chink in credibility oozes a lot of *Body Heat*'s atmosphere. Ned and Matty spend most of their time sweating and screwing, screwing and sweating. The two acts become so intertwined that they are reduced to a single bodily function. Both become forms of secretion.

In this steamy Florida atmosphere, our senses are slightly dulled, our grip on reality loosened. Kasdan is therefore able to stylize his film by just that bit he needs. He does so as if style were rope, and he wanted to play out just enough of it for his characters to hang themselves. From the stickiness of sex, Kasdan edges us toward the feeling that sex is also intertwined, inseparably, with violence. A black police detective who is a pal of Ned's says as much. But again, it is what we're shown, rather than what we're told, that makes us believers. On their second meeting, for instance, Ned birddogs Matty all the way home, but is then thrown out, rejected, once more. Prowling about, he can see her standing in the front hall, still waiting, expectant, aroused. She sees him, too, and when he throws a chair through glass doors to get at her, she is ready to be had. As she sprawls on her back, the camera hugs the floor like a referee at a wrestling match looking for a pin. It gives us a lizard-eye view of their love-making, as if the heat had driven some primeval creature out of the Florida swamp and into the house to watch them.

Many nights later, having bludgeoned her husband to death in that same front hall, Ned falls back exhausted onto the floor as she had in her passion earlier, and the camera is again low down. *Body Heat* is full of tenuous little connections like this, mute visual clues to the real crime being committed. They are not only sub-textural, but subliminal. Though no one of them is noticeable, they add up. That's what style is, invisible accumulation of the evidence. As we see, if only we could recognize it, when Ned lands on his back on the hall floor, now he's the one being screwed. There have been signs all along that despite his smooth talk, Ned is a man of self-destructive extremes. He's someone who, literally, jogs and smokes at the same time. Every once in a while Kasdan gives us a direct glimpse into the paranoia and manipulation, the near hallucination, where the events in this movie really occur. One of these is when Ned is parking his red Corvette on a Miami street the afternoon before the murder, and he sees an old, red Mercury convertible, late forties vintage, drive by. Behind the wheel is a man in a clown costume.

The proof of this kind of movie is in its ending. It has to surprise us, yet make us feel that it was inevitable. It has to reveal to us what we already know — that these people were doomed, each trapped by the fate of his own character. This neat trick is what takes style.

At the end of *Body Heat*, Ned is looking at Matty's picture in her high-school yearbook. Underneath, it says, "Ambition: To Be Rich and Live in an Exotic Land." At that moment, Matty is lying on the beach of a volcanic island in the tropics somewhere. *"Muy calido,"* says the man next to her: "It's hot." The remark reminds me of what Ned said to her that first night on the boardwalk. The line he tried to pick her up with was, "You can stand here with me as long as you don't talk about the heat." How banal can you get? I wonder whether Ned still remembers that first meeting between them the way I do? If only one of us could have seen, right then, what would happen. That line was such an inept opening gambit that Matty couldn't help smiling. "You're dumb," she said, "I like that in a man." You see, she was telling the truth from the very beginning.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

THE FRAGMENTATION OF SCHOLARSHIP

History in crisis

ERIC FONER

FOR AMERICAN HISTORIANS, the 1970s were years of crisis. Declining undergraduate enrollments, dwindling graduate applications and the much-publicized job crisis cast a pall over history departments, while conventions of historians took on an unmistakable air of gloom. History, which once enjoyed a favored place in the liberal arts curriculum, was forced by the widespread abolition of required courses to compete for increasingly job-oriented students in the war of all against all of the academic marketplace.

Paradoxically, while academic history fell into depression, popular interest in the past enjoyed a minor boom. It was of course, the decade of the Bicentennial, "Rootsomania," and nostalgia. A recent poll by the New York *Daily News* found that history and biography were the most popular types of books among its readership, followed closely by mysteries. Popular historical writers like Barbara Tuchman remained on the best seller list for months. The *New York Times* reported a "fantastic escalation" in the financial value of Americana in the late seventies. Like gold and rare stamps, old manuscripts and memorabilia were finding favor with investors as a hedge against inflation. One way or another, it seems that an audience (or market) continues to exist for history, but not for academic historians.

This decline of academic history was, in fact, ironic because it occurred in the face of a remarkably creative outpouring

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of scholarly writing about the American past, indeed nothing less than a veritable redefinition of historical studies in America, in which a traditional emphasis on institutions and events, politics and ideas, was superseded by a host of "social" concerns.

To a large extent, this transformation was a byproduct of the ferment of the 1960s and the political objectives of the New Left. Blacks, followed by women, ethnics, and other groups, looked to history for a "usable past," and condemned their virtual exclusion from traditional historical narratives. At the same time a new technology — the computer — made possible the analysis of vast amounts of data concerning "anonymous Americans," enabling historians to focus on the experiences of ordinary individuals rather than a small, articulate elite.

In place of conventional narratives of political and intellectual development, American historians in the seventies produced an abundance of works in the various subfields of social investigation: family history; social mobility studies; the history of sexuality, criminality, and childhood. Under the impact of the new focus on "history from the bottom up," old fields were transformed and new ones sprang into being.

Labor history, previously confined to institutional studies of labor unions (which have never embraced a majority of the working population in this country), now came to focus on the culture and lifestyles of laboring people. American Studies, previously concerned with exploring the connections between history and literature, now delved into popular culture, defined as including everything from movies to comic strips. Even political history, when studied at all, was transformed by a new emphasis on the local impact of ethnic and religious divisions, and disdain for the study of national leaders and ideological issues.

Meanwhile, whole new fields came into existence. Black history, previously confined to the black colleges, had by the close of the 1970s gained a foothold in programs at scores of universities, and transformed the way nearly every survey course was taught. And women's history, virtually non-existent before the rise of today's feminism, produced some of the most innovative historical studies of the decade. At the same time, the traditional field of intellectual history was left by the wayside, its practitioners beleaguered and haunted by self-doubt in the face of persistent charges that its concern with major thinkers was "elitist," and its literary sources (when compared with quantitative data) "impressionistic."

Most historians probably have come to recognize in the transformation of historical scholarship a healthy infusion of new perspectives into the discipline.* Historians in the 1970s delved into areas hitherto all but ignored (the history of sexuality, for example) and reintroduced a sense of complexity to their studies, forcing all writers to adopt a more critical posture towards their evidence and calling into question broad generalizations based on fragmentary data or the experiences of a few eminent individuals. At their best, the new histories moved far beyond compensation for earlier neglect, to portray the involvement of blacks, women, and laboring people as active historical agents, rather than passive victims of exploitation.

THESE ADVANCES, however, did not add up to a coherent new vision of the American past. Indeed, what was most striking in the 1970s was the fragmentation of historical scholarship and the larger notion of social process itself. The broadening of historians' concerns went hand in hand, it seemed, with a narrowing of their vision.

Older coherent interpretations of the American past, ranging from Turner's frontier thesis to the consensus theories of the 1950s have been shattered. But what is disturbing is that, despite the wealth of recent material, no new synthesis has emerged to fill the void. Indeed, only a small number of historians continue to believe that a comprehensive view of the American past is possible. The portrait of America which emerged from the 1970s was of a nation constantly at war with itself, divided along lines of race, class, gender, and region. If earlier historians ignored local differences in grandiose generalizations about "the American character," today the notion of a unified national experience seems almost impossible to maintain.

The problem was accompanied by an obsession with method which sometimes eclipsed the larger purposes of the writing of history. Lacking a clear methodology of its own, history was perhaps more susceptible than other disciplines to the adverse impact of vogueish methodological innovations. The popularity of interdisciplinary history, stimulated by, among other things, guidelines for government grants, led to an invasion of social science jargon, which seemed to provide a more "scientific" foundation for historical studies.

Most pervasive was the influence of quantification, which often shaped the contours of historical investigation, determining the issues to be studied and according undue weight to variables, like ethnicity, for which statistical data happened to be available. Oral history, another methodology in vogue in the 1970s, possessed great value as a way of recovering the history of those who left no written records, but it sometimes seemed to reject the notion of historical interpretation altogether, substituting simply the raw experience of the interviewees.

One result of these methodological innovations was the precipitous decline of the traditional historical narrative in favor of specialized, methodologically sophisticated studies. This only widened the gap between academic history and the

---

* There are, of course, dissenters. Under the portentous title *Truth in History*, Oscar Handlin issued a philippic against the new historians for distorting past reality for current political purposes. Handlin found it easy to score points against some of the abuses of recent scholarship—the penchant, of some writers, for example, for painting American Indians as ecological communards (or, alternatively, virtuous Jeffersonian yeomen) before the coming of the whites. But Handlin's screed fell to pieces the moment one reflected that during his imaginary golden age when historians respected Truth, blacks, women, and yes, Indians, somehow found themselves excluded from portraits of the American experience.

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general reading public, which preferred narrative and interpretive accounts to accumulation of data.

IF ANYTHING WAS characteristic of the new histories of the 1970s, it was the precipitous decline of politics as a subject of inquiry. The theme of last year's Organization of American Historians convention was "To Study the People." Its nearly one hundred panesl included papers on everything from the boll weevil to Chicano murals, while virtually ignoring national politics, as if this were irrelevant to "the People's experience.

The failure to consider politics—by which I mean not simply voting behavior and legislative alignments, but the ways in which power in civil society is ordered and exercised—often left social history bereft of the larger context which alone could have imparted a broader meaning to its findings. Ethnic studies, for example, often fell into a pluralist model which celebrated the resiliency of diverse immigrant cultures while avoiding a hard-headed analysis of which groups exercised more or less power in shaping American society.

This emphasis on "culture" as opposed to power was typical of what some have called the "depoliticization" of the new histories. Depending on the point of view, this represented either a professional coming of age, or a retreat from the political impulse which had spawned labor, women's, and black history in the first place.

Fred Hechinger last year gave his seal of approval to black studies programs in *The New York Times Magazine*, declaring they had "outgrown their radical origins." At the same time, by contrast, historian Ellen DuBois lamented in *Feminist Studies* that women's history was losing its original political dimension in a preoccupation with women's private lives. The concern with non-elites, first raised as a political rallying cry by left historians in the 1960s, has been appropriated, in the new social history, by a romantic nostalgia for past lower-class cultures.

Perhaps the shift from the public to the private sphere as a point of historical reference is not surprising in view of the political trajectory of the "me decade." The university, however, is one of the few arenas in American society where radicals of the sixties have found a comfortable niche while still professing radicalism. The growth of Marxism in numerous fields, especially among younger scholars, has been nothing short of astounding (and has been commented upon, with varying degrees of alarm, in *Business Week* and the *National Review*).

There is still, of course, a resistance to Marxist concepts among most American historians. A book of mine was criticized a few years ago (in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, of all places) for quoting Karl Marx, on the ground that his writings are irrelevant to America. A few highly visible Marxists have been hon-

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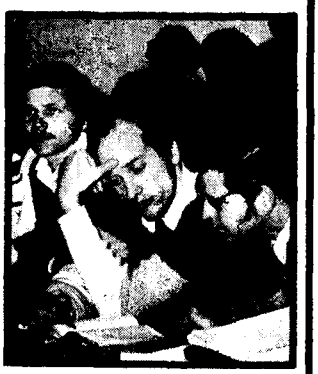

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ored by the profession—radical scholars Eugene Genovese, William Appleman Williams, and Gerda Lerner have been chosen in recent years as presidents of the Organization of American Historians. But younger scholars still face political discrimination, often disguised because of the job crisis, and even a Marxist "star" like Genovese was, like Bertell Ollman before him, turned down for a position at the University of Maryland. Nonetheless, groups like the Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Organization and such journals as the *Radical History Review* and *Review of Radical Political Economy*—two among a dozen Marxist-oriented journals in various academic fields—have already made a substantial impact.

This growing radical presence has not, however, with the notable exception of the critique of American imperialism by revisionist diplomatic historians, checked the depoliticization of historical studies. It raises anew the question of the role of the radical academic, especially at a time with little prospect for far-reaching social change. If the divorce of academic history from the general reading public has been disastrous, the separation of radical historians from any larger social movement has been equally debilitating. It fosters a view of history not as a mode of collective self-education or a vehicle for social change, but rather, an escape from an unappealing present.

Studies of past instances of labor conflict or radical politics, for example, can be illuminating in their own right, but, as with popular leftist historical films like *Northern Lights* and *The Wobblies*, their impact often rests on an unstated comparison with the dull and conservative present. How we got from the heroic days of past conflicts to the heartless world of today, is a question rarely considered. At any rate, such films, generally financed by public funds, are likely to be an early casualty of the Reagan administration and the slashing of appropriations for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The tasks confronting historians in the 1980s are formidable indeed: to reawaken an interest in history among a student body whose high school education leaves it bereft of any sense of historical understanding, to bridge the gap separating the academy from a broader reading public, and to make history once again a way of illuminating the present, without succumbing either to a romanticized nostalgia or an ahistorical present-mindedness. The survival of history as an intellectual discipline may well be at stake.

Books: ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE

THE SECOND STAGE
Betty Friedan
Summit, $14.95, 320 pp.

Margaret O'Brien Steinfels

TWENTY YEARS ago, Betty Friedan provided college-educated, suburban housewives with a label for "the problem that had no name" — the *feminine* mystique. She now offers to their heirs, college-educated, urban career women, another label for a new problem — the *feminist* mystique. In short form the feminist mystique sums up the excesses of the woman's movement, the anti-male, bra-burning, separatist forays of sexual politics that have come to be serious liabilities in our present less indulgent political atmosphere.

Two slogans, two poles, and the outcome is two women's movements: the one Mrs. Friedan helped to found, and the one that found itself in reaction to hers—Mrs. Schlafly's.

Over the last decade women who fit the ideal image of neither movement have felt out of place in both. Most women in this country are married; most have children; most work and are paid less than a man doing equivalent work. Most work, not because they have been liberated from the feminine mystique, but because most families can no longer live on one income. Most women think there should be equal pay for equal work; that women should have equal opportunities for education, jobs, and advancements. Most women, when polled, believe that abortion should be legal, but not available on demand; and, although not most, a very significant number of women, have helped to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). A third woman's movement, nicely fitted between the other two would accommodate the real interests of most women in this country. Mrs. Friedan's recent writing, now gathered in this book, suggested that she had become acutely aware of that fact.

The Second Stage is an effort to reoccupy the territory her woman's movement unwisely abandoned to Mrs. Schlafly and the Radical Right—family, children, men, intimacy, and (in the oft-repeated phrase) "life-cherishing values." Although acknowledging the power of the anti-woman woman's movement, Mrs. Friedan does not seem to fully understand what the first woman's movement did to bring on the formation of the second.

The excesses of sexual politics that gave a tawdry image to her woman's movement were the work, she says, of bad companions — the media, women refugees from the radical student movement, and counter-culture earth mothers. While getting in her licks at the bad companions, she also apologizes and urges a more sober assessment of what women and men must face in the Reagan years. Apologies and reassessments notwithstanding, Mrs. Friedan seems to believe that it is an image problem and not matters of substance that divide women on the woman question.

In fact, the issues that Mrs. Friedan sees as the bedrock of woman's liberation, passage of the ERA and preservation of abortion on demand, are precisely the issues that brought the second woman's movement into existence. Abortion and the ERA are the political chil-

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dren of upper and upper-middle class men and women who believe both measures are an unalloyed benefit to all women. But in different ways both measures subtly threaten working class and traditional-minded women and men who resist the shifts in power that each measure entails.

Unfortunately these concerns are not the focus of *The Second Stage*, but another dilemma recently brought home to Mrs. Friedan: In our culture the individual worth of men and women is measured by their work, while the primary sources of emotional satisfaction for most adults come from families, spouses, children, and life in small groups. The first woman's movement must attend to these realities that too often tug and pull in opposite directions.

In her travels, Mrs. Friedan has picked up this new refrain: too many choices, too much to do. Powerhouses at work, successful career women are fearful of having children and losing their place on the career ladder. Coeds free to go to law school, to medical school, to marry, bemoan the range of choices that lie before them. Supermoms whose days and nights at work and at home are scheduled like battleplans down to the last minute feel they have no time to sit back and enjoy any of it.

But for every woman who has too many choices, surely there are many with too few. Mrs. Friedan pays some attention to older divorced women left without husbands, without skills, without careers or pensions, and with too few economic and social choices before them. But overall we hear very little in these pages about women forced to take low-paying jobs, to leave children without adequate care, to forego having children, or raising them alone, because the men in their lives won't support offspring. In short, we hear a great deal from the women who are the success stories of the first woman's movement and very little from those who carry the burdens of liberation, but receive very few of its benefits: women who must work, but have no career; women who have children, but no childcare; women who have relationships, but no commitments.

Unsettled by the problem of too many choices, rather than too few, Mrs. Friedan is off in all directions in search of new answers, new research findings, new ways of looking at things. She is off to West Point, off to meetings with rabbis and priests, off to international conferences. She is, I regret to report, simply off.

Those alive and reading in 1963, when *The Feminine Mystique* was published, will remember the endless yardage of popular prose laced with pseudo-psychology and sociology, chapter after chapter badly patched from old magazine articles. *The Second Stage* adds to that style the worst of social scientese and journalese: a pastiche of Freudianism and laundered sociobiology, the lame-footed anecdote that parades as evidence, the personal encounters that are inflated into revealing trends.

Reviewing West Point cadets, male and female, marching to lunch, Mrs. Friedan tweaks her host, an army major, and points an anti-military finger, "Do they actually line up and march like that when they have to fight?" But, in fact, she does not oppose the military life for men or women. At the Baltimore session of the White House Conference on the Family, she feels she has resolved a priest's difficulty with abortion by a semantic sleight of hand: everyone could support "the choice to have children." Attending a meeting at the Stanford Research Institute International, she delights in finding that the Beta style, "based on synthesizing, intuitive, qualitative thinking and a 'contextual,' 'relational' power style," is receiving serious attention. The Beta style long practices by successful feminist leaders is hailed by corporate managers, as a welcome balance to the overly analytic, rational, quantitative, and masculine Alpha style.

Although hardly attending the real problem of real differences, Mrs. Friedan's political agenda for the second stage is the conciliation of polarities, of males and females at West Point and elsewhere; of pro-choice and pro-life activists; of liberals and conservatives, of . . . you name it. "Improbable as it may seem, we could bridge the old

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conservative-liberal chasm, if we realize the true protential of that elusive new male-female, second-stage mode."

Many have stood perplexed between the first woman's movement and the second, finding truth and error in each camp. Others have called for conciliation or, at least, the grounds for agreeing to disagree. Perhaps those confusions and pleas inspired this book. But in writing it, Mrs. Friedan too often occupies the high ground of rhetoric, extolling life-cherishing values instead of exploring the genuinely contradictory definitions of those values held by the two woman's movements. When acknowledging differences, she papers them over. Rather than clarifying and sharpening areas of agreement and disagreement, she obfuscates. It may be churlish to say so, but I doubt that Mrs. Friedan will be among the founders of the third woman's movement, but then neither will Mrs. Schlafly.

Poetry & theology

THE FIRE AND THE ROSE ARE ONE

Sebastian Moore
Seabury Press, $9.95, 176 pp.

Nicholas Ayo

IN THE VEIN of *The Crucified Jesus Is No Stranger* Sebastian Moore continues his insightful and precise meditations on the cross of Jesus and the resurrection faith—Jesus is Lord. Sequels often suffer by comparison, and the present book, although fresh with metaphorical turns of phrase for which Moore is without rival, presents some themes *déjá vus*. A future synthesis of both books, together with yet more Moore, will be the perduring work. No doubt he poses the soteriological questions in an experiential way most likely to lead to the best insights about the paschal mystery. No doubt there are phrases and whole paragraphs that make your heart sing. I have read *The Crucified Jesus* several times, the first time a bit breathless; *The Fire and the Rose* lies in its shadow.

Ernst Becker's *Denial of Death* investigated the question, is man ultimately valuable? The answer Becker gave amounts to—not really, but the cultural dazzle may distract you from the despair of realizing your nothingness. Moore begins here, with man as this living question put to the infinite mystery. "Am I valuable in your eyes?" *Jesus is Lord* becomes the condensed, but ineffable, answer. Human life is the asking of a religious question; human culture, at least modern culture, is for the most part "the systematic reduction of the child of mystery to the banal world of man's own making." Christianity, then, answers the question, but Moore's theological approach insists upon the prior, careful, and explicit weighing and being weighted by the question. "To discover and to name this pre-religious involvement with God" is what his book is all about. Moore would argue that theological statements like 'Jesus is God' are answers; they represent a "high Christology," which is true enough but jumps to giving the answer before faith-life, religious-life, even pre-religious life have felt the question lived out in human flesh and bones. Creeds and theologies are final-word distillations. When one begins with such packed wisdom, one shortchanges the questions, doubts, and despairs along the way to wisdom. Missed is the *experience*, even though one is given the treasure all unpacked. Thus, Moore says "the religious question today is *mystical*."

Surely this direction for theology is worthwhile. Karl Rahner's work emphasizes the transcendental properties of common human experience. When "spirit" becomes recognizable in human affairs, then Christian revelation will answer an actually asked question. John Dunne's theological writings are in a similar vein. Moore traces in experience the questing and questioning being that is man. *Jesus is Lord* broke open the despairing heart and minds of the disciples, because they had lived through the death of religion's God and they were then the raw and living question—if no Kingdom with Jesus, nada.

Moore's analysis of "guilt" is the shortest of the three sections of the book, but I found it most helpful. "Self-disesteem is the root human evil." "It is the sense of 'unworth to' that mystery." "It is the all-embracing mystery experienced not as presence but as pressure"—"unhappy unlove," "affective impotence," "original cosmic love affair gone sour," "pure, self-referred self-awareness." This is the stuff of poetry and theology. And yet, sin and guilt are finally unexplainable. All metaphors fall short. Moore's Christology will be criticized as laying down a too facile natural desire for the supernatural. In fairness, however, his theology is always provisional, in-process. To read him is exciting and immensely refreshing. Moreover, his appended "Retractions" of errors in his earlier book leaves you with little need to rush to the attack. Moore knows the mystery is bigger than his renditions. In the meantime, read anything under his name.

Runaway pope

SAVING GRACE

Celia Gittelson
Alfred A. Knopf, $10.95, 229 pp.

Doris Grumbach

NO INSTITUTION of any strength or endurance is without its satirists, and now the papacy has one. It will be argued that Cecila Gittelson, whose first novel this is, has written a farce rather than true satire, and perhaps that is right, because her portrait of the fictional Pope Leo XIV has a fine overlay of understanding and compassion and the action is, in its second half, as broad as Keystone-cops comedy—and as funny. *Saving Grace* will not add a cubit to the library of dead-pan fiction on papal life and the Vatican, some of it written in fury, some with inordinate respect, but it will entertain and, in some places, enlighten you.

Pope Leo really did not want the job. As Cardinal Bellini he begged his fellow cardinals before the election "to allow

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me to return to my former life. In your wisdom . . . I beg you to forget me and to give your votes to a more zealous candidate." But nonetheless he is chosen as a compromise candidate. Very quickly he begins to chafe against the restraints of the Vatican. The members of the household staff and his two close attendants, Monsignors Ghezzi and Rocca, design his life so that he is a virtual prisoner of ritual and ceremony.

Pope Leo tells his concerned sister, who herself has trouble getting in to see him, that "many of my colleagues complain about me. 'Nothing is being done.' 'The Holy Father spends too much time on his knees,' they say, 'waiting for divine inspiration.' *'Il Papa* says Mass in the mountains and in the meadows. He writes and studies far more than he should, and makes too many pastoral visits to schools, hospitals, and prisons. He travels around the world as the work of the church piles up . . .' "

So it is inevitable that Leo would escape. He visits his sister, dresses himself in the clothes of his sister's husband, and "liberates" his brother-in-law's truck ordinarily used to haul manure. Ghezzi and Rocca come after him at once, but he has made a successful escape. They agree not to call the secular authorities, *i poliziotti* and *i carabinieri*, but to try to find him and bring him back themselves. Their conversation sets the tone for the ensuing chase, in which of course the police do become involved. First, however, they discuss the implications:

> "We must handle this business ourselves. If the world were ever to discover that the Holy Father has . . ." he lowered his voice, "broken out . . ."
>
> Rocca's next thought brought him fully awake. "I do not dare imagine what would happen! Our posi — the position of the church — is unsteady at best. Even the devout have begun to leave in large numbers. If we were to let on now that *il Papa* has left too . . . My God, we'd be finished!"

Il Papa finds a small village, built high up a volcanic mountain. The inhabitants assume he is lost: "It's the only reason anyone ever lands in this Godforsaken place." He poses as a salesman of religious objects, visits an hermitic, spoiled

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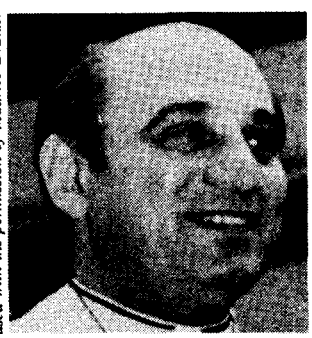

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priest to ask him, futilely, to say Mass for him, and then he settles in, making his presence as a layman felt until the somewhat expected happens. His priestly qualities manifest themselves, he is taken to be a saint who is capable of cures. After the long section of chase perhaps too long but fitting if the book is taken as an entertainment, which ends in a hilarious scene during which the police try to run down the pope in a helicopter, Leo X1V is reported by the Vatican to be recovering from his long bout of influenza which has kept him from his public duties and out of the public eyes. Finally, I doubt that it will spoil the reader's enjoyment of the milieu, the chase and the authentic hierarchic background, to report that the ending is one of reconciliation and grace. It even contains a fine supernatural moment which, in the light of all that has gone before in this skillful and amusing book, is entirely acceptable.

REVIEWERS

MARGARET O'BRIEN STEINFELS *is an editor and writer in New York and the author of* Who's Minding the Children: The History and Politics of Day Care in America.

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DORIS GRUMBACH *writes regularly for the New York Times Book Review. Her books include* Chamber Music *and* The Missing Person.

I knew of Celia Gittelson when she served a major publishing house as a publicity manager. I am glad to make her acquaintance as a writer of playful fiction. Sitting in the sun on a wide Maine beach I found her story just right for the time and the place, and her skill, in her first novel, uncommon, unexpected, and most pleasurable.

foreign and domestic ties are unsubstantiated and the political maneuvering which surrounds the case arouses suspicions that quite a few are unfounded.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 706)

political institutions, this latest *crisi* prompts the obvious query: what are the sources of Italy's political stability? One part of the answer is that the same sense of self-interest which motivated the *piduisti* is widely diffused in Italy. Both the Christian Democrats and the Communists, Italy's two largest parties, have created states within the state by protecting and promoting the self-interest of their members and clients. In a crisis the need to protect personal interests and to defend the state within which this system operates coalesce and Italian democracy staggers through yet another apparently insumountable crisis.

Ultimately, moreover, one wonders how much of a threat to the stability of Italian democracy this latest crisis will prove to be. Many of the allegations which Terzuolo reports about P-2's Moreover, while Gelli, like Stalin, may have been a superb file clerk, his political acumen is questionable. Italy's political leaders hit upon the alliance of Christian Democrats and Socialists as a bulwark against Communism in the early 1960s. The alliance was in its second incarnation before P-2's Venerable Master realized the obvious. Some Machiavelli! Unfortunately, given the Italian passion for conspiracy theories (witness the jury findings in the Pope John Paul II assassination case), the massive and contradictory evidence Gelli left in his villa, the politicization of the case, and the slowness with which Italian justice generally works, it is almost certain that no one will ever satisfactorily explain the P-2 conspiracy. JAMES E. MILLER

Church/world watch

(Continued from page 713)

cerned with the arms race will be warned by Hoffman that an ethic of intention is not sufficient in the political world; it must be joined with an ethic of consequences. This will require testing the various disarmament measures against the arcane logic of deterrence. Such advice slows down coalition building but it may enhance the quality of our contribution to the public debate. Finally, this book is an invitation to other academics who share Hoffman's background in political science, but have not yet stretched their curiosity or competence to engage the normative questions. J. BRYAN HEHIR

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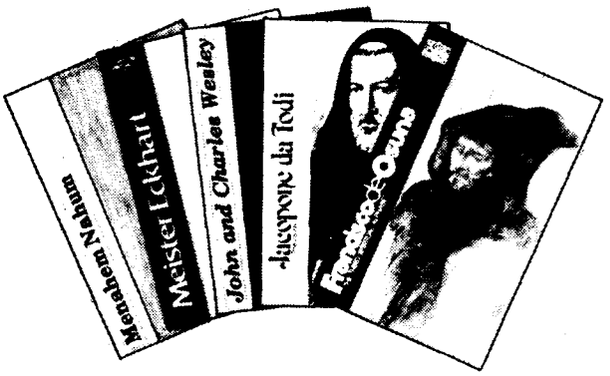

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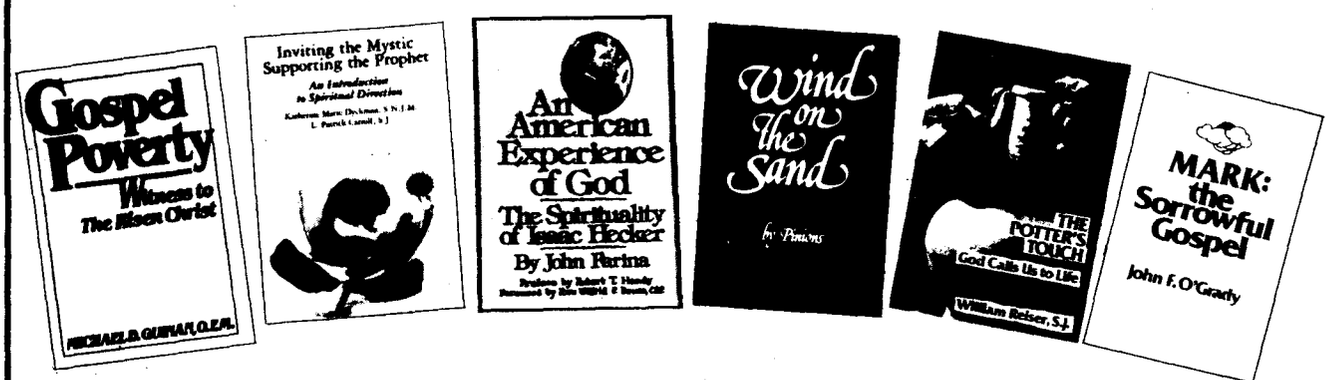

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